

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9985

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 6995

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PDEV, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: SUMMARY OF FIRST FOUR MEETINGS OF INTERNAL
SETTLEMENT TALKS

REF: PRETORIA 6985,

1. FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF MINUTES OF THE FIRST FOUR
SESSIONS OF CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS TAKEN FROM NOTES BY
DR. J.M. GOPO OF REV. SITHOLE'S DELEGATION AND PROVIDED
TO US BY ELLIOT GABELLAHON DEC. 20 (REFTEL).
THE FOCUS OF THE TALKS WAS LAID OUT BY SMITH IN THE
FIRST SESSION WHEN HE STATED THAT "ALL THAT REMAINED
AFTER HIS CONCESSION OF ADULT SUFFRAGE WAS TO AGREE
TO SAFEGUARDS FOR WHITES TO BE WRITTEN IN THE CONSTITUTION."
AFTER AGREEING ON THESE SAFEGUARDS, SMITH SAID, "WE
CAN TAKE OUR TIME ON THE OTHER THINGS SUCH AS THE
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DRAWING UP OF THE CONSTITUTION, DELIMITATION OF
CONSTITUENCIES, ETC.".

2. DR. GABELLAH, OF THE SITHOLE DELEGATION, IN HIS
OPENING STATEMENT SAID THAT IN ORDER TO PROCEED,
THE GOVERNMENT MUST FIRST LIFT THE BAN ON ZANU AND
RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

3. THE SECOND SESSION BEGAN WITH A CONSIDERATION OF THE CRITERIA FOR ADULT SUFFRAGE. AFTER MUCH DISCUSSION, THE ONLY CRITERION ACCEPTED WAS AGE. (THERE WAS DISAGREEMENT ON THE AGE LIMIT, BUT AFTER APPOINTING A COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE MATTER, IT WAS DECIDED IN THE FOURTH SESSION THAT 18 YEARS WOULD BE THE VOTING AGE.) THERE WAS THEN SOME DISCUSSION ON HOW TO CHAIR THE MEETINGS WITH THE FINAL DECISION BEING A ROTATING CHAIRMAN FROM WITHIN THE GROUP. SITHOLE ASSERTED THAT THERE WAS A "RELATION BETWEEN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT PLAN AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN WHICH WAS WIDELY ACCEPTED HERE BY THE AFRICAN PEOPLE OF RHODESIA, BY THE NATIONALISTS, BY THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, BY THE UK, USA, OAU, UN AND BY MAJOR WESTERN COUNTRIES. IT WOULD MAKE A MATERIAL DIFFERENCE TO WORK OUTSIDE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN (PROPOSALS) AND WORKING WITHIN THEM SINCE WE SHALL SEEK THE COOPERATION OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND INTERNATIONAL OPINION."

4. SMITH REPLIED THAT HE HAD "NO LOVE" FOR THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN AND THAT "THE LESS I HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE BRITISH, THE BETTER." SMITH ALSO SAID THAT HE HAD INFORMATION THAT "IF WE WERE TO ARRIVE AT A GENUINE SETTLEMENT THERE WILL BE NO OBJECTION BY THE UK, USA, WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE UN."

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5. IN SECOND SESSION, SITHOLE ALSO REITERATED THE NEED TO INVITE THE PF LEADERS AND TO RELEASE PRISONERS. THE SMITH SIDE SAID THAT RELEASE OF PRISONERS WAS NOT POSSIBLE UNTIL AFTER SETTLEMENT WHEN "THE ELECTED LEADERS OF THE DAY WILL RELEASE THEM." SMITH SAID THAT ZANU AND ZAPU HAD BEEN INVITED AND WERE WELCOME "PROVIDED THEY GIVE UP ACTS OF TERRORISM."

6. THE THIRD SESSION BEGAN WITH CONTINUED DISCUSSION ON THE VOTING AGE BUT FINALLY TURNED TO THE KEY POINT, SAFEGUARDS FOR WHITES. AS INTRODUCED, THE SAFEGUARDS ARE AN EIGHT-POINT PLAN. FIRST, A "JUSTICIABLE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF THE INDIVIDUAL (INCLUDING) NO DEPRIVATION OF PROPERTY UNLESS ADEQUATE COMPENSATION IS PAID"; SECOND, AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY; THIRD, AN INDEPENDENT PUBLIC SERVICE BOARD WITH ENTRENCHED COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONS; FOURTH, RETENTION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE, POLICE, DEFENSE FORCES AND PRISON SERVICES "IN A HIGH STATE OF EFFICIENCY AND FREE FROM POLITICAL INTERFERENCE"; FIFTH, PENSIONS GUARANTEED AND FREELY REMITTABLE ABROAD; SIXTH, RIGHT TO DUAL CITIZENSHIP; SEVENTH, REQUIREMENT OF "TWO-THIRDS PLUS ONE" OF PARLIAMENT TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION;

EIGHTH, ONE-THIRD OF PARLIAMENTARY SEATS "RESERVED FOR DIRECT ELECTION BY WHITE VOTERS." IN INTRODUCING THE DISCUSSION, SMITH SAID, "THESE ARE THE MINIMUM BASICS. WE BELIEVE WITHOUT THESE WE WILL FAIL IN OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVE, TO RETAIN WHITE CONFIDENCE." IN THIS AND THE FOLLOWING SESSION, THE PARTICIPANTS RETURNED OFTEN TO THIS SUBJECT, WITH THE NATIONALISTS ARGUING THAT THE SAFEGUARDS MUST ALSO INSTILL CONFIDENCE IN BLACKS.

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7. DISCUSSION THEN PROCEEDED ON EACH OF THE EIGHT SAFEGUARDS, ONE-BY-ONE. THE FIRST THREE--DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY AND ENTRENCHED PUBLIC SERVICE BOARD--WERE ACCEPTED WITH LITTLE DISCUSSION. ITEM SEVEN WAS ALSO ACCEPTED WITH THE CHANGE FROM "TWO THIRDS PLUS ONE" TO ONLY TWO-THIRDS OF PARLIAMENT FOR AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION. ALL OTHER ITEMS WERE HELD OVER FOR DISCUSSION AFTER VARYING DEGREES OF RESERVATIONS WERE EXPRESSED. THERE WERE MINOR DISAGREEMENTS ON SAFEGUARD NUMBER FIVE--PENSIONS, AND NUMBER SIX--DUAL CITIZENSHIP. ON NUMBER FOUR, IT WAS APPARENT THAT BOTH MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE HAD DISAGREEMENTS AND SMITH ASKED FOR TIME TO LOOK AT THEIR PROPOSALS. SAFEGUARD NUMBER EIGHT, WHITE REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT, WAS THE KEY ISSUE. MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE

ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF A SPECIAL ALLOCATION OF
WHITE REPRESENTATIVES, BUT REJECTED THE IDEA OF
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TWO SEPARATE VOTING ROLES, ONE FOR WHITES ONLY.
(PRESS REPORTS HAD ERRONEOUSLY INDICATED THAT SITHOLE
WAS AGREEABLE TO SEPARATE ROLLS.) MUZOREWA PROPOSED
DIVIDING THE COUNTRY INTO 82 CONSTITUENCIES TO ELECT
ANY PERSON AND 41 CONSTITUENCIES TO ELECT WHITES,
WITH THIS ARRANGEMENT ABOLISHED AFTER THE SITTING OF
TWO PARLIAMENTS. SITHOLE SAID 41 RESERVED SEATS WERE
TOO HIGH AND HE SUGGESTED 20 RESERVED SEATS FOR WHITES
(GABELLAH INDICATED TO THE BRITISH THAT THIS WOULD
BE OUT OF A TOTAL OF 120.) ON A COMMON ROLL WITH THE METHOD
OF THIR ELECTION TO BE DECIDED LATER. CHIRAU ALSO OPPOSED THE
IDEA OF SEPARATE ROLLS.

8. SMITH FRANKLY REPLIED THAT "IF WHITE REPRESENTATIVES
ARE TO BE CHOSEN BY COMMON ROLL, THE BLACKS CAN ELECT
PUPPETS. IT IS NO SAFEGUARD...WHAT WE WANT IS A
BLOCKING MECHANISM." HE SAID, HOWEVER, THIS
WOULD NOT BE A PERMANENT FEATURE. WHEN ASKED ABOUT
THE TIME LIMIT FOR SUCH A PROVISION, HE SAID THERE HAVE
BEEN SUGGESTIONS OF 10-25 YEARS. A MEMBER OF SITHOL'S
DELEGATION ANSWERED JUST AS FRANKLY SAYING, " ALL
WE INTEND TO DO STANDS OR FALLS" ON THIS POINT AND
A BLOCKING THIRD ELECTED BY WHITES " IS DRAGGING
THE COUNTRY BACK TO RACIALISM."

9. THE FOURTH SESSION BEGAN WHEE THE THIRD LEFT OFF,
ON THE UNRESOLVEDSAFEGUARDS. SMITH BEGAN BY REITERATING
HIS TRADE-OFF "IT WAS MADE CLEAR AT THE BEGINNING
THAT TO ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE AND ADULT SUFFRAGE
IS TO EXPECT YOU TO ACCEPT OUR SAFEGUARDS." SITHOLE
THEN DIGRESSED INTO A DISCUSSION OF CONFIDENCE,
STRESSING THE NEED FOR THE CONFIDENCE
OF ALL RHODESIANS. "CAN WHITE CONFIDENCE STOP THE
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WAR" HE ASKED. AFTER A LONGEXCHANGE, SAFEGUARD FOUR (RETENTION
OF ADMINISTRATION) WAS ACCEPTED WITH A CHANGE OF THE WORD
"RETENTION" TO "MAINTENANCE" AND AN APPARENT AGREEMENT THAT THE
SECURITY FORCES WOULD BE THE SUBJECT OF SEPARATE
DISCUSSIONS. (IT WAS UNCLEAR IF THE TERM "SECURITY
FORCES" WAS TO BE DELETED FROM SAFEGUARD NUMBER 4.)
DISCUSSIONS ON SAFEGUARDS FIVE AND SIX, PENSIONS AND

DUAL CITIZENSHIP, WERE AGAIN INCONCLUSIVE AND HELD OVER. THE RESUMED DEBATE ON THE BLOCKING THIRD WAS ALSO INCONCLUSIVE WITH THE EXCHANGES MORE HEATED. SMITH AGAIN ADMITTED THAT HE WAS AFTER A BLOCKING MECHANISM AND SITHOLE TOLD HIM THIS WAS "UNACCEPTABLE." SITHOLE SAID "WE CAN'T SELL SUCH A SETTLEMENT TO OURSELVES, TO THE FIGHTERS, TO THE OAU, TO UK, TO USA OR THE UN.... WE WILL HAVE UNDONE ALL WE TRIED TO DO HERE." THE SESSION THEN ADJOURNED.

10. PRESS ACCOUNTS OF SESSIONS 5, 6 AND 7 INDICATE THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO BREAKTHROUGH YET ON THE BLOCKING MECHANISM ISSUE.

11. COMMENT: THE NOTES WE HAVE WERE RECORDED BY A SITHOLE MAN AND THIS SHOWS THROUGH. THE BULK OF COMMENTS ARE FROM SITHOLE OR OTHERS OF HIS DELEGATION WITH LITTLE SPACE GIVEN TO MUZOREWA OR CHIRAU. SITHOLE IS SHOWN TO ALWAYS HAVE ALTERNATE, PREPARED LANGUAGE ON THE VARIOUS POINTS. CHIRAU OFTEN SEEMS INCOHERENT AND MUZOREWA UNPREPARED AND UNSURE. ANALYSIS WILL FOLLOW BY SEPTEL.BOWDLER

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